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ROUND TABLE

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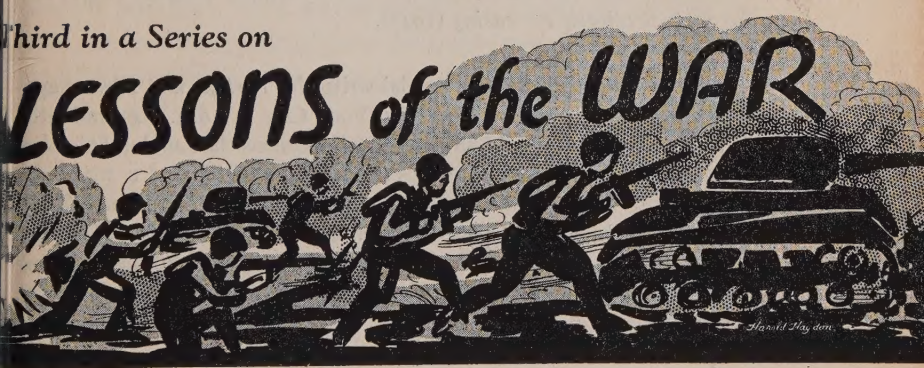
THE DOMESTIC FRONT

Third in a Series on

LESSONS of the WAR



A Radio Discussion by NEIL JACOBY
ELIOT JANEWAY *and* DONALD KINGSLEY

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Around the Round Table . . . .

NEIL H. JACOBY, secretary of the University of Chicago and professor of finance in the School of Business at the University, did his undergraduate work at the University of Saskatchewan and for his graduate work came to the University of Chicago, where he was granted his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees. Under Governor Horner he served as supervisor of the Legal and Research Division of the Department of Finance of the State of Illinois, where he worked especially on the sales tax. Mr. Jacoby has had experience in private business as manager of the research department of the investment banking and counsel firm of Lawrence Stern and Company. He served as chairman of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission during 1939 and 1940. Dr. Jacoby has written many articles and reports, and he has authored *Retail Sales Taxation* (1938) and *Inter-government Fiscal Relations in Illinois* (with Leland and others) (1938) and is coauthor of *Term Lending to Business* (1942) and *Accounts Receivable Financing* (1942).

ELIOT JANEWAY, special writer for *Fortune* and *Time* magazines, was born in New York City in 1913. He graduated from Cornell University and attended the London School of Economics. He has had wide experience as an editor and a writer for *Harper's*, *Asia*, the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, the *New York Times*, *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*. He has also served as associate editor and business consultant for *Time* magazine. At the present time he is working on a book analyzing the political, social, and economic crisis threatening in the United States.

J. DONALD KINGSLEY, of the department of political science of Antioch College, received his Ph.D. degree from the School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. He spent 1936–38 in Europe as a research fellow of the Social Science Research Council. Professor Kingsley is the chairman of the Committee on Positive Recruitment of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. He is consulting editor of the *Public Personnel Quarterly*, contributing editor of *Current History*, and a member of the editorial board of the *Antioch Review*. He is the author of *Public Personnel Administration* (with W. E. Mosher) (1900) and *Strategy for Democracy* (with David Petegorsky) (1900) and is now completing *Bureaucracy in England*.

THE DOMESTIC FRONT

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MR. JACOBY: The fact that American troops have recently taken Kiska is more evidence that we seem to be making progress on the military front of the war. I wonder, however, whether we are making the same progress on the domestic front. You may recall that President Roosevelt said recently, and I quote him, "You have heard it said that, while we are succeeding greatly on the fighting front, we are failing miserably on the home front. This is another of those immaturities—a false slogan easy to state but untrue in the essential facts."[1]

Do you agree with the President on this?

MR. JANEWAY: I profoundly agree that the war is one—that the military war and the war domestically are fundamentally one war. I must say, however, that, as a reporter, I disagree that the people are thinking of these wars as one. The people, on the contrary, seem to be sitting in the grandstand and watching the military war from the domestic front.

MR. KINGSLEY: They seem to feel that the successes of the mili-

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[1] The President continued in his radio speech of July 28: "For, the longer this war goes on the clearer it becomes that no one can draw a blue pencil down the middle of a page and call one side 'the fighting front' and the other side 'the home front.' For the two of them are inexorably tied together.

"Every combat division, every naval task force, every squadron of fighting planes is dependent for its equipment and ammunition and fuel and food, as indeed it is for manpower, dependent on the American people in civilian clothes in the offices and in the factories and on the farms at home . . . ." (Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The First Crack in the Axis," *Vital Speeches*, August 15, 1943).

tary have no connection at all with our failures in respect to production, and the slowing-down of production, which has been considerable in recent months, or with the general confusion on the home front and lack of morale.

MR. JACOBY: It is interesting to notice that our British Allies are far less impressed with the American war effort than we seem to be. When Gallup took a poll there recently, they rated the Russian war effort first; Britain's second; China's third; and the United States' fourth.[2]

MR. JANEWAY: The reason for that, Jacoby, is pretty simple. The Russians have been fighting a war of extermination on their own soil; the British have had, for quite a time, to take it on the chin in a very cruel way. This country, on the other hand, is not fighting any such war on its own soil that people can see and feel. In fact, we seem to have been fighting a war by pushing buttons; a war by production; a war in which others are dying, and we are living pretty much as usual.

MR. JACOBY: Janeway, you have recently taken a tour around important parts of the country. Having had your finger thus on the

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[2] A recent Gallup poll asked the question: "What country has done the most toward winning the war?" The response in the United States to this question was as follows:

United States	55%
Russia	32
Great Britain	9
China	4

The response to the same question when asked in England was:

Russia	50%
Great Britain	42
China	5
United States	3

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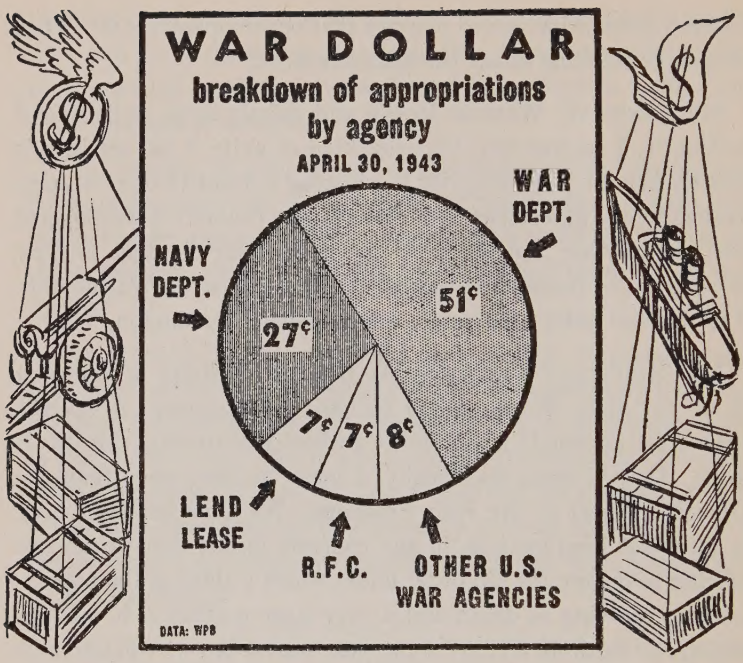
national pulse, what would you say that the temperature is? What are people thinking about the domestic front?

MR. JANEWAY: Whereas Russia and Britain seem to be united nationally, I confess that the only kind of unity I can see in this country is not a positive unity but instead a negative one—a unity marked by the agreement of all groups, who cannot otherwise agree with one another, only in their hatred, in their distrust, in their growing active resentment against everything done in Washington. It is national unity in reverse—unity against Washington.

MR. KINGSLEY: It seems to me that the difficulty is confusion about war aims. We have had no clear-cut statement in specific terms from anyone in a position of authority as to what this war is about. That is, more specifically, I mean nothing more than the Atlantic Charter or the Four Freedoms. We have not been told; we have not been assured, in any concrete terms, that we are not fighting to restore the old order under which a third of the population was starving to death and a very large portion of it was unemployed. Until we do have some clear statement, we will not have any unity.

MR. JACOBY: I would agree with you that the lack of a clean-cut and convincing statement of war aims is handicapping us greatly. Next week's University of Chicago ROUND TABLE will answer questions on the meaning of the war internationally.

Don't you think that there is another failure, and that is on what we might call the "informational" front? Let me illustrate. We have meat-rationing that has become quite unpopular. There have been meat famines in many parts of the country, and many housewives have not been able to get meat for their red points. I think that the whole meat-rationing situation could have been handled much better if at the beginning it had been pointed out that we produce twenty-two billion pounds of meat, that we need to give three billion pounds to Russia and Britain on our Lend-Lease commitments, that the Army eats four billion, that we have only fifteen billion

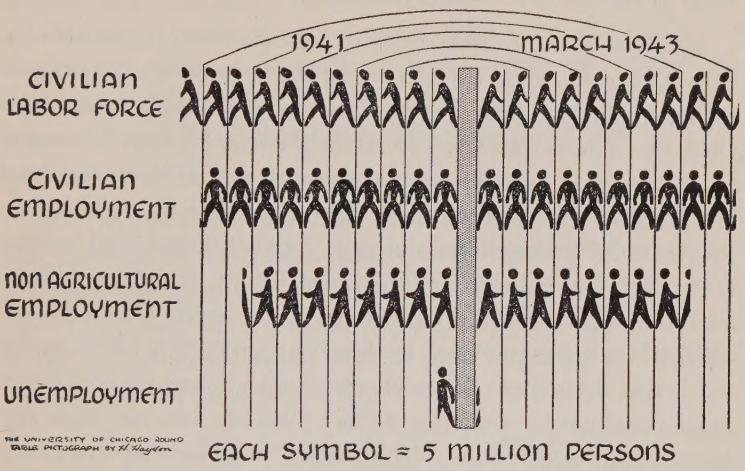


pounds left for the civilian population and that we ate nineteen billion pounds in 1941, so that the consumption has to be cut.

MR. JANEWAY: You have put your finger on a point that goes right to the heart of the problem facing us. You are talking about people giving up things. What seems to me to be the basic idea, common to the entire country, is that everyone assumes that this country is so rich, so productive, altogether so efficient, that there is no reason why we cannot win this war, win it quickly, win it cheaply in terms of life and time, and, at the same time, give up nothing at all at home. I agree with the point that Kingsley made earlier—that we seem to be united in no general agreement as to the philosophy behind this war, or its objectives.

But, concretely, there is one very immediate program and one immediate assumption on which everyone agrees about the war.

ESTIMATED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE



Source: Bureau of the Census

We are fighting it just because there is a war, just because everyone has had to go, and because everyone knows what he is going to get out of the war. He is not going to give up anything. What he is going to do is be paid off for doing his duty.

MR. KINGSLEY: Isn't that entirely a matter of the general confusion about war aims? That is, the weaknesses in our social order, which have been there all the time—divisions in terms of classes and of races, geographical divisions, occupational divisions between agriculture and labor, all of those—have come to the fore because of two things. First, there has been no real understanding of what the war was about; and, secondly, there has been no real understanding either of the necessity of winning the war or of the fact that we are actually in a war which is going to be a major struggle.

MR. JACOBY: Having taken the patient's temperature, we can see that the condition is none too good.

Let us now turn to the first major area of our discussion. I suppose that the most important single lesson of the war for the domes-

tic front is the fact that we now know that we can have full employment in the country. Would you agree?[3]

MR. KINGSLEY: I certainly should say that that is the most colossal fact of our whole experience. In two brief years enlarged government spending (spending had been very timid under the New Deal) was able to translate a situation of unemployment into one of full employment in which unemployment is now at the lowest level in recorded history, at which we have added some fifteen million people to the working force and have doubled the national income. It has been done entirely (and this point, I think, is very important) because the government decided to buy some eighty billion dollars' worth of the goods produced by American agriculture and industry and to distribute them, free of charge, to a section of the population which could not have afforded to buy them. It does not make any difference, in terms of the over-all effect, whether they are giving away munitions or fertilizer, or whether they are giving airplanes for combat duty or commercial airplanes, or whether they are giving them to soldiers or sharecroppers.

MR. JACOBY: I think that it makes a good deal of difference in the standard of living we can enjoy, however, whether we are making cannons or butter, to use the old phrase.

MR. KINGSLEY: I agree wholly with that. Also, in terms of the effect on the whole economy, we could achieve the same thing—full employment—by doing precisely the same thing in peacetime by having the government buy a portion of the goods produced and then giving them away on some basis to that part of the population which could not afford to buy them.

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[3] In April, 1943, according to the Bureau of the Census, there were 52,100,000 in the civilian labor force. Of these, the number unemployed had declined to a new low of 900,000. Those employed in nonagricultural work totaled 41,600,000, and those in agriculture, 9,600,000, making a grand total of 51,200,000 employed workers in the United States.

In April, 1940, there were 8,800,000 unemployed workers in the United States; 45,100,000, employed (36,100,000 in nonagriculture and 9,000,000 in agriculture); and a total of 53,900,000 in the civilian labor force.

MR. JANEWAY: As a matter of fact, though, most people today seem to be assuming that the moment this is over we will have another greater depression—a depression destroying what they may be saving at the moment and a depression which will throw many more unemployed into the labor market than we had in 1932. Therefore, it will be a depression challenging the very structure of our social order.

MR. KINGSLEY: I think that that is probably due to the fact that they do not understand that what has transformed the stalled economy into an expanding economy is merely government spending. They think that it is war and that we can have full employment in war but not in peacetime, whereas we could have it in peacetime by precisely the same means.

MR. JACOBY: Yes. But we can have it also by another means. The danger in your assumption is that we have to have a continuous war in order to have a full employment.

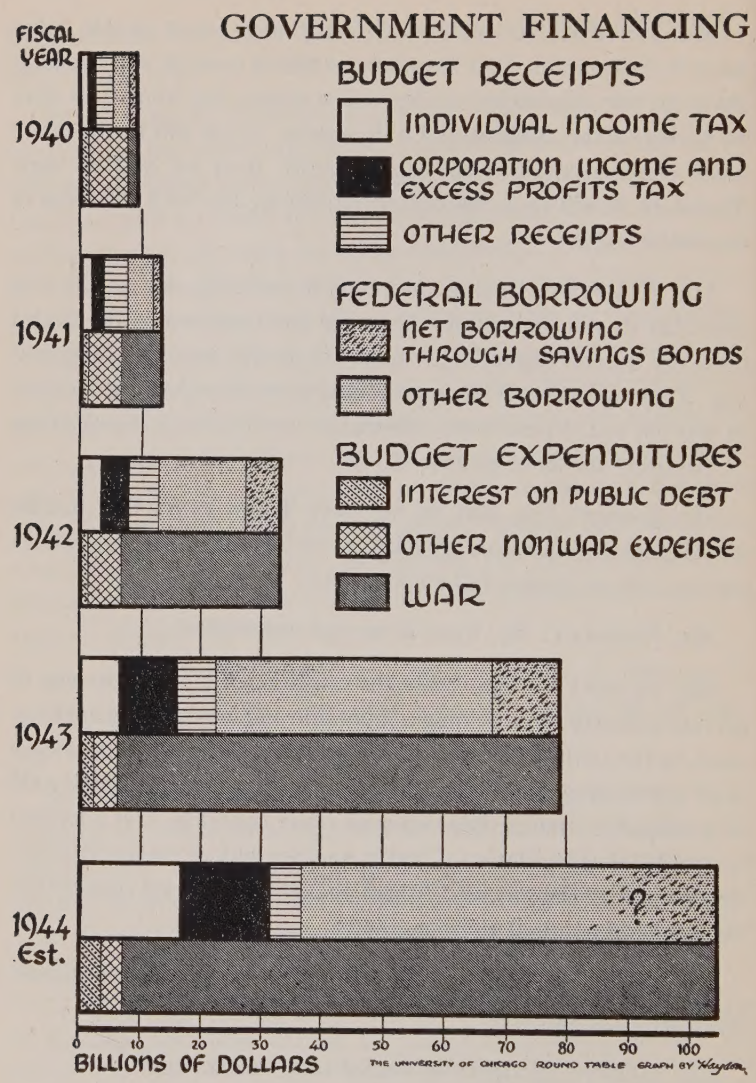
MR. KINGSLEY: No, there is no such assumption.

MR. JACOBY: We can create the conditions for the expansion of private industry by providing a favorable and encouraging environment to the outlays of private industry by revising our tax system so as to encourage investment by blasting open markets, getting rid of monopolies, freeing international trade channels, and adopting favorable labor legislation. That is another way of getting full employment after the war, and I think that there is a good chance that we are going to adopt those methods.

MR. KINGSLEY: Which we tried in the period of twelve or fifteen years after the last war.

MR. JACOBY: All right; we denied that we ever tried it.

MR. KINGSLEY: We did not try it, and we are never going to because it is not practicable. There was never a more favorable environment for American business to show what it could do than in



the period following the last war, and what it did was to produce the 1929 and 1930 depression.

MR. JACOBY: That is a long story. I think, however, that a good

many of us would be very glad to recover the conditions of the 1920's for a few years.

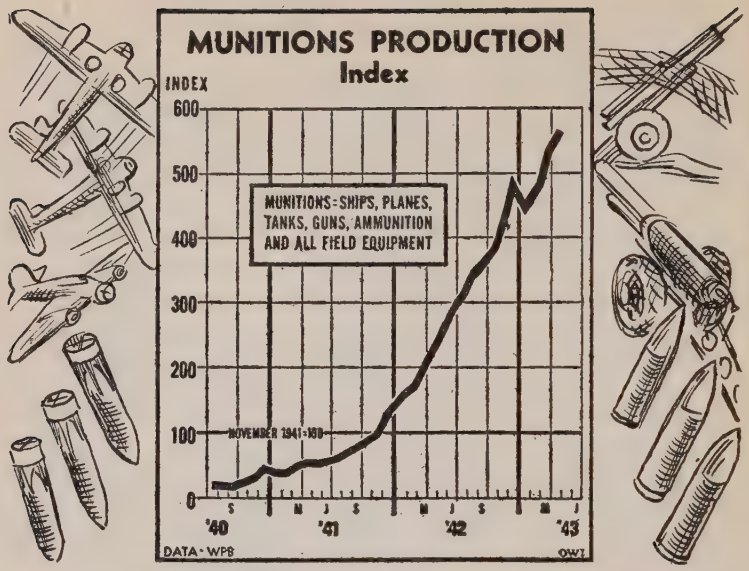
But the point is that after this war, as a result of the ten-billion-dollar reduction in the amount of consumer debt, as a result of the billions of dollars of war bonds that people possess, as a result of the eleven-billion-dollar increase in cash that they are holding, there is going to be a great demand not only for goods but also for the means to buy them. Those deferred demands will create the jobs that will make the reconversion problem much simpler.

Mr. Janeway: You have stated a view which gives me great cause for alarm; you have stated it very pungently. The view is this: Private enterprise seems to be saying to the country, "We can take up the slack. We can avert domestic catastrophe, mass unemployment. Just let us do the job. Just stop government spending."

What that view seems to go on to assume, however, is that the reason private enterprise thinks it can do the job is that the public has saved up so much money that all private enterprise need do is sit back and collect the sales receipts.

What would give me more confidence in private enterprise's ability to fill the bill would be if they came to the public, in the same way in the old days that the government had to go to the Congress and ask for appropriations to make jobs, and if they would say, "Give us so much money, and we will provide so many jobs." I would have more confidence in your point of view if industry would come to the country today, frankly, ahead of time and say, "As soon as the confusion attendant upon the post-war conversion has cleared away, we will be willing to commit. We will make so many millions of dollars' worth of investments in new job-creating employment." That kind of bill of particulars would satisfy all of us, I am sure, who want industry given every conceivable chance to take up every bit of the unemployment slack that must be taken up when this war boom is over.

Mr. Jacoby: It is not a function of any single, individual business to make a commitment to spend money on new plant or equip-



ment unless it can see a market for the product, because, after all, private business goes ahead with the profit incentive, and the market for any individual business is created by the jobs of people who are employed in a million other businesses in the economy.

But enterprise is going right now as far as it can. The Committee for Economic Development, with which I happen to be associated, is now sponsoring a program of providing plans for post-war expansion on behalf of every individual enterprise in the country. It is going further. It is trying to investigate the framework of law and economic relations in the country that will make expansion on the part of enterprise likely.

Mr. Kingsley: But haven't you put your finger right on the difficulty? The conditions of our complex economy under which we can go ahead and plan are conditions which are beyond the control of any particular industry or any particular business, as you have suggested. Unless there is over-all planning for a market by some agency which is in a position to take an over-all picture, it will be

impossible, at least in my judgment, to go ahead on any expansive basis whatever. Instead, we are almost certain to reach a dead level of underemployment, such as we had in the ten or twelve years preceding the war.

MR. JACOBY: I am not quite clear as to what you mean by "over-all planning," Kingsley. I fully agree with the view that it is up to government to step in and maintain incomes and provide jobs where the level of employment in private business falls, but, meanwhile, it is also up to the government to find out what causes the fall in jobs in private industry and to take away those causes.

MR. JANEWAY: I am less interested in the debate between Jacoby and Kingsley here, which is doubtless a debate in which most communities are participating, than I am in the fact that as a country and as a way of life we cannot afford to gamble on whether Kingsley is right or on whether Jacoby is right. We cannot afford to gamble on whether only government can do the job, or mainly government can do the job, or, on the other hand, as to whether only industry could or should do the job. We must have government *and* industry simultaneously doing everything possible to guard us against a recurrence of unemployment.

MR. JACOBY: I think that your statement is a fair one. The only difficulty I find is that there are many people who give lip service to the idea that private enterprise is a fine thing and an integral part of a free society, but, when it comes to doing something about providing the laws that will make private enterprise function, they are strangely silent and inactive.

MR. JANEWAY: In your view, and as a member of the Committee for Economic Development, Jacoby, do you think that industry is prepared to come to the country now and say, "America, we are taking full and sole responsibility, if only you free our hands as we see fit and give us a blank check"?

MR. JACOBY: By no means. I do not think that industry can

guarantee anything. What I am saying is that if the American people want a free economic society, and I'm sure they do want it, ...

Mr. Janeway: Of course they do.

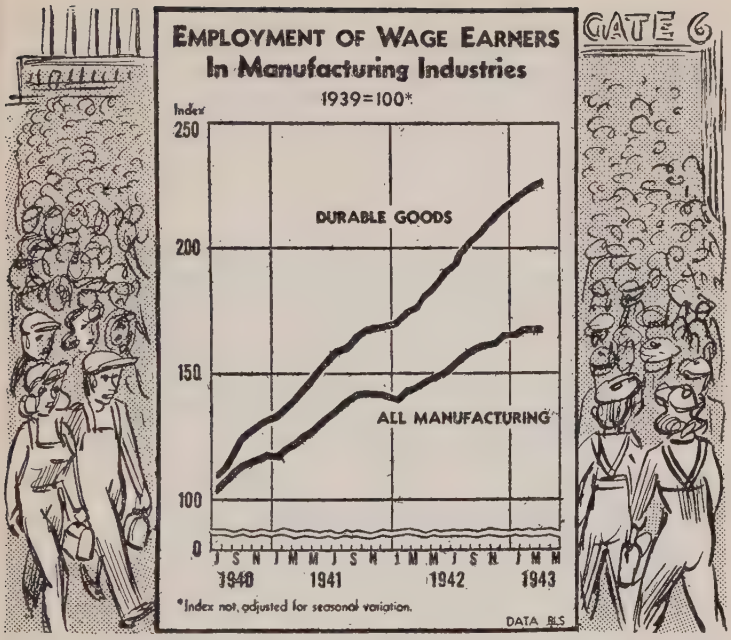
Mr. Kingsley: Of course, that is right.

Mr. Jacoby: . . . . and if they provide the kind of legislation—tax laws and laws in the other spheres that I have mentioned—that encourages businessmen to build and make plant expansions and improvements, industry will then provide the jobs. I say that we cannot afford not to do everything that will make that come about.

Mr. Kingsley: In respect to that, Jacoby, I believe fully in free enterprise, too, if it will work. My point is that the conditions under which we can provide the environment where it will work are conditions which are impossible of attainment, given the existing distribution of economic power. The same monopoly elements which will control the business planning of the future are those which have introduced the restrictive elements such as higher tariff barriers and which have made it impossible for the economy to expand in the past. That situation will continue.

Mr. Jacoby: I am more optimistic, and I have more hope that we shall do away with them.

Mr. Janeway: Does not this argument get back to the point that we were making to begin with that the entire country seems to be divided along occupational and geographical lines; that the war seems to be run as a three-way poker game between the three main producer blocs—capital, agriculture, and labor—with perhaps none of these three really running the show, but each of the other two truly convinced that its main antagonist is? Can we hope to draw any satisfactory moral from the war that will apply to the post-war period until a national leadership emerges? I am afraid that it must emerge only in Washington, for the country is too big and the time too short for it to come from any other place. Until such a leader-



ship emerges which can stop this three-way poker game, and can stop this mutual bickering, this reciprocal jealousy between all three will remain.

Mr. Kingsley: I think that the answer to that is that so long as we have a completely inequitable society—in which large numbers of our population are excluded from full participation and in which the more powerful economic interests dominate government inevitably since there is no distinction between economic and political power—the only thing under those circumstances which will possibly unite us is an overpowering catastrophe of the sort that hit England with the German attacks on London.

Mr. Jacoby: I do not quite agree with that view of American society that you express. It does not seem to me that it is nearly as undemocratic, either on the political side or on the economic side, but that is too long a story to debate here.

Let us get on with the next major area of our discussion. Would it be fair to say that another major lesson of the war for the domestic front is a realization by the people that a very large country like the United States, diverse in its population and in its geography and in its economic resources, can be run only by an enormously complicated administration?

MR. KINGSLEY: I should not agree wholly with that. I think that the complexity increases in the number of special interests involved and with the indirectness of the approach to control of the economy. The more indirect your approach, the less complete can be your control and the more complex your machinery.

MR. JACOBY: To be specific, what would you say have been the principal mistakes in the wartime organization of our economy, Kingsley? You are a student of administration.

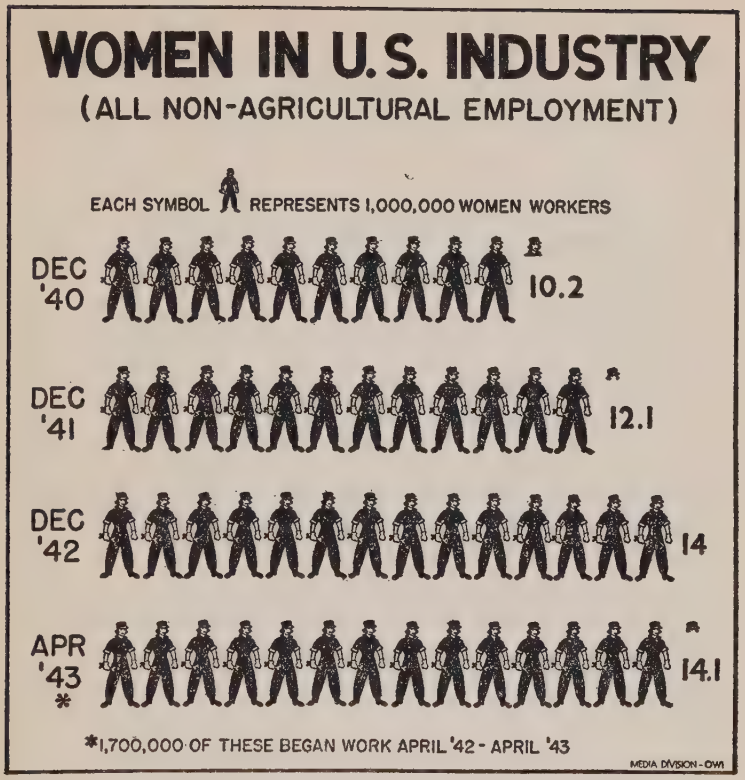
MR. KINGSLEY: In the first place, I should like to say something about the general attack on bureaucracy, which has certainly been carried way beyond the realm of reality. In my view, taking into consideration all the enormous complexity of the task of undertaking to control the economy (about which nobody knew), of organizing two or three million people to do the job, government has been as efficient organizationally as industry has where it has been confronted with new jobs.

I think that we have made two related sorts of mistakes. We have tended, on the one hand, to bring the vested interests inside the government—that is, to turn over to people who are representatives of the interest groups involved the controlling posts in the agencies which are designed to control those interest groups.

MR. JACOBY: You wouldn't exclude them, would you? They are most familiar with the subject matter.

MR. JANEWAY: I would keep them on tap but not on top.

MR. JACOBY: All right.



Mr. Kingsley: Yes, that is as Harold Laski has said. But the second mistake I think that we have made is in other instances where we have set up agencies in which we have tried to get impartial administrators, and we have largely succeeded in getting such administrators, but then they have failed to counsel with and consult the interest groups with which they are dealing. Either type of mistake, I think, tends to be fatal. I do not think that we needed to have adopted either alternative.

Mr. Jacoby: You have pointed out, Kingsley, some faults in the personnel that we have selected to run the war agencies, but it seems to me that at least equally important, if not more important,

is the fact that, however good the personnel has been, our organization of the wartime administration has been bad. In short, we have not given even good personnel powers that are commensurate with their responsibilities. The muddle in food administration is a good example of that.

MR. JANEWAY: I wonder, Jacoby, whether you mean however good the war personnel has been, or whether you mean however bad the war administration personnel has been.

The second point you make about the muddle in administration and the balk in organization of authority takes us back again to what is perhaps the central lesson of the war. On the one hand, we have agencies like the OPA, unsuccessfully trying to do something in the national interest, like control inflation, and, on the other hand, we have agencies like the Fuel Administration, the Food Administration, the Manpower Administration, and the various production bodies, each trying to get produced more of something which the Army and the Navy need, like gasoline or food or bombers. Don't we find that whenever there is a conflict between a national interest welfare, you might say, and a specific producers agency, the head authority, say, Mr. Ickes or Mr. Marvin Jones, however much he may agree with the effort to stop inflation, is always compelled to fight for more pay-off for the producers he happens to be representing, because it is his responsibility to get more gasoline? If inflation cannot be prevented because the country is disunited and if no one seems to be willing to make sacrifices because no one seems to think the war is very real or close, that is not the fault of the man immediately responsible for getting what the Army needs.[4]

MR. JACOBY: Yes. But I doubt if Mr. Ickes or the oil producers

[4] See A. G. Hart, Neil Jacoby, and Henry Simons, *Bigger and Better Taxes*, a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 259, broadcast March 7, 1943, and Garfield V. Cox, A. G. Hart, and George Stigler, *Are We Holding the Line?* a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 269, broadcast May 16, 1943.

would either of them agree that Mr. Ickes is pitching for the oil interests.

MR. JANEWAY: Oh, I think the oil people think so. He is trying to get them more money.

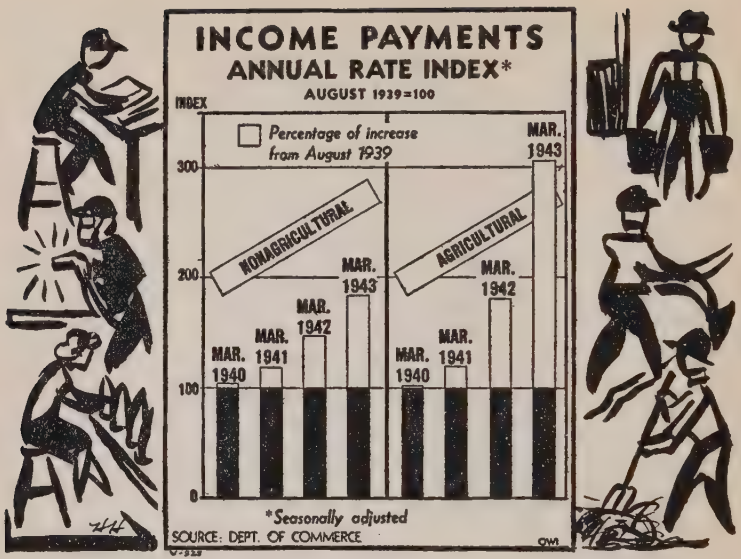
MR. JACOBY: Be that as it may, isn't the fault the fact that there is no point at which conflicting interests are clearly reconciled? For instance, take the case of food. There are about nine different agencies in the federal government that deal with the production of food. The War Production Board controls farm machinery; OPA, farm prices; Lend-Lease has to do with the allocation of a portion of the food; the Army takes some more. Then there is a food administrator who is supposed to see that food is produced, but he is not equipped with powers that are needful for getting it. He has no power over farm machinery, over farm labor, or over farm implements.

MR. JANEWAY: As I travel around the country, the one generalization which becomes clear to me is that we are rapidly passing from what you might call a crisis of morale to a moral crisis—a crisis in which no one seems any longer to be believing what he is told by anyone in authority. It seems to be a crisis marked by universal resentment throughout the country against the big shots. No one knows who the big shots are, and each group of people has its own personal devils and its own personal definition of the big shots.

MR. KINGSLEY: Isn't that the product of two things, in general? First is the fact that our whole emotional commitment to the war has not been as strong as it might have been, so that, not seeing the necessity for sacrifices, we have tended to be irritated by every small sacrifice that we have had to make.

MR. JANEWAY: That is right, Kingsley.

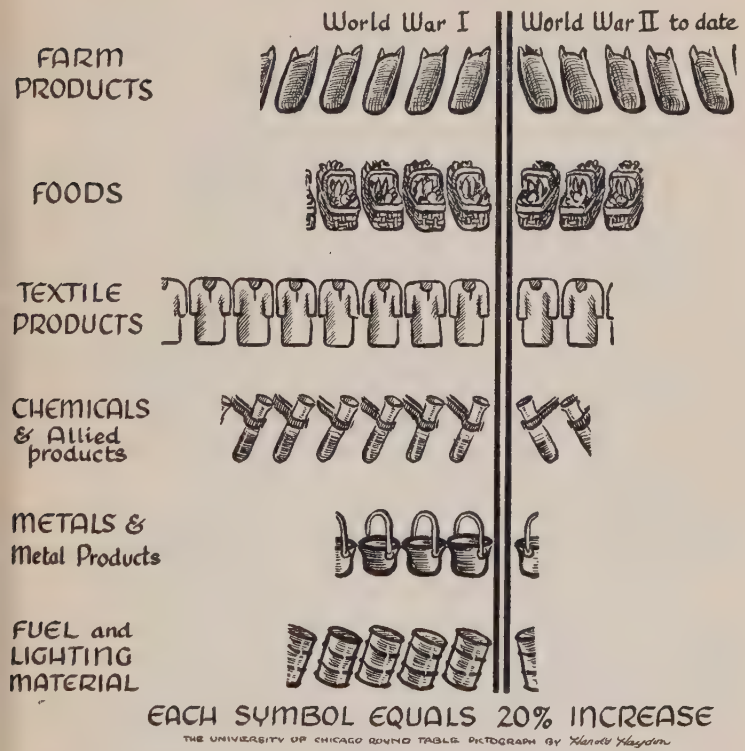
MR. KINGSLEY: But, secondly, isn't it due in large part to the manner in which the press has failed to present to the American people the real story of the war?



Mr. Janeway: Kingsley, it unbecomes me to defend the press; others ought to do that. But I cannot help but recall the fact that it was the same press, which perhaps in your view, equally unfairly went after the Administration, let us say in 1936, and hit it with everything it knew how to use. No doubt there were many exaggerations and much unfairness at the time. Remember, however, that the Administration at that time was much more closely in touch with the great mass of the American people and exercising much more vigorous, virile leadership over them. The result was that the Administration was able to convert that unfairness on the part of the press into a great political advantage.

Today, however, the Administration, it seems to me, if it had that degree of contact with the people (and unfortunately I cannot see that it does anywhere in the country any longer), would be able to convert that attitude of the press into a great political advantage. Instead the press is effectively discrediting the Administration without discrediting itself. Indeed, it has gone far to restore public confidence in it.

INCREASE IN COMMODITY PRICES IN TWO WARS


World War I
World War II to date
FARM PRODUCTS
FOODS
TEXTILE PRODUCTS
CHEMICALS & Allied products
METALS & Metal Products
FUEL and LIGHTING MATERIAL
EACH SYMBOL EQUALS 20% INCREASE
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE PICTOGRAPH BY Harold Haydon

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

MR. JACOBY: Gentlemen, in our review of the lessons of the war relating to the domestic front, we have agreed that the lack of a clear-cut and specific statement of war aims—a statement informing the people of what the war is all about—is a grave handicap to our war effort. Confusion about war aims lies at the base of the current public distrust of Washington, of the failure of war production to reach objectives, and of the "I'm-going-to-get-mine-while-I-can" attitude.

We believe that the wartime administration has failed to give

convincing and consistent statements to the public of the needs c rationing and drafting and price regulation.

The primary lesson of the war, I think we have agreed, is tha full employment can be achieved when government steps into th market and buys eighty billion dollars of goods a year. We do no agree, however, that full employment can be maintained by busines enterprise after the war, should government step entirely out of th market. Kingsley stresses the need for over-all planning of economi life and believes that continued government spending is almost cer tainly necessary. I tend to take the more optimistic view that bus ness enterprise will provide the satisfactory level of employment it plans in advance for post-war expansion, and if the America people provide it with an environment of laws concerning taxes an labor and other matters that encourage expansion. Janeway assume a more middle-of-the-road position. He believes that we must hav *both* government and industry simultaneously doing everythin possible to insure full employment.

The major lesson of the war, in the second place, is that the wa time operation of a huge country like the United States is an eno mously complicated problem. At best, a lot of mistakes have bee made and continue to be made, but we have not done our best i either organizing or staffing the war agencies. The administrativ structure is too complicated; it lacks single-minded direction at th top; and the people in the war agencies have too often been un familiar with their jobs or have been identified with the interest that they are regulating.

America is a rich and powerful enough nation to afford mistake It is not too late for us to apply these lessons in the struggle tha lies ahead.

The ROUND TABLE, *oldest educational program continuously on the air, broadcast entirely without script, although participants meet in advance, prepare topical outline, and exchange data and views. The opinion of each speaker is h own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago the National Broadcasting Company. The supplementary information in this tra script has been developed by staff research and is not to be considered as representi the opinions of the* ROUND TABLE *speakers.*

What Do *You* Think?

1. How well do you think that the government has run the war on the home front? Do you think that the lessons of World War I have been applied? What failures do you find in the government's domestic policy? What successes? Do you think that the situation at home is improving? Are our military successes to be measured in terms of our domestic accomplishments?

2. What are the standards by which home-front performance should be judged? Equality of sacrifice? Amount of production? Morale? Military victory? How would you judge your community in terms of its wartime performance?

3. What are the crucial battles on the home front? Are they being won or lost? What are the lessons of the war with relation to inflation, labor policies, production?

4. Do you agree with Professor Jacoby that there is a failure on the "informational front"? Would additional facts and explanations go far toward solving domestic failures? How would a clarification of war aims and a specific statement on what the war is about change the situation at home? Is this necessary?

5. What do you consider the most important lessons that the American people have learned about their domestic economy? How can these experiences in the operation of a wartime economy be transferred to peacetime pursuits? What has been learned about government-business relations?

6. Has the experience of the war changed your views on government, on business, on agriculture, or on labor? What has been learned about planning in a democracy? Do you think that the people of this country will be ready to apply these lessons in their economic life when the war is over?

7. Do you believe that any type of administration will be ineffective and inefficient unless the American people are prepared to cooperate? Do you agree, in the light of conditions today, with Professor Kingsley that it will take an "overpowering catastrophe" to unite the American people? Do you find people united?

More on This Topic

BROMFIELD, LOUIS, "We Aren't Going To Have Enough To Eat" *Reader's Digest*, August, 1943. *A critical discussion of the "fo muddle."*

DARROCK, MICHAEL, "What Happened to Price Control?" *Harper* July, 1943. *A detailed analysis of the history of price control a especially of the Office of Price Administration.*

FINNEY, BURNHAM, "The Miracle of American Production," *Am ican Mercury*, September, 1943.

FULLER, HELEN, "Why Production Lags," *New Republic*, Augu 16, 1943.

HANSEN, ALVIN, "Wanted: Ten Million Jobs," *Atlantic Monthl* September, 1943. *A discussion of the facts and figures on full e ployment.*

HIGH, STANLEY, "Senator Truman Saves a Billion," *Americ Mercury*, September, 1943. *Discusses some of the work of the Se ate Committee To Investigate the War Program during the last t years.*

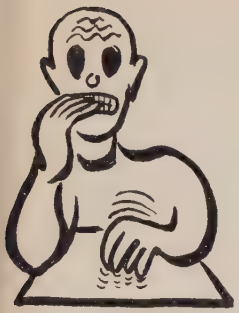
HOOVER, HERBERT, "The Food Front," *Vital Speeches*, June 1 1943. *Says the food front is second only to the military in winni the war and of more importance than the military in establishing t peace. Presents a nine-point program of what should be done no*

KINGSLEY, J. DONALD, "The Campaign against Inflation," *Curre History*, October, 1942. *Says that "the struggle against inflation a struggle for equality of sacrifice."*

LELAND, SIMEON E., "The Struggle for the Control of Inflation *University of Chicago Magazine*, April, 1943.

MAHER, EDMOND F., "OPA Need Not Have Failed," *Saturday Ev ning Post*, July 31, 1943. *Claims that OPA failures were largely matter of personnel.*

STONE, I. F., "The Cantankerous Congress," *Nation*, July 31, 194 *Cites congressional failures in backing the key issue on the ho front—inflation.*



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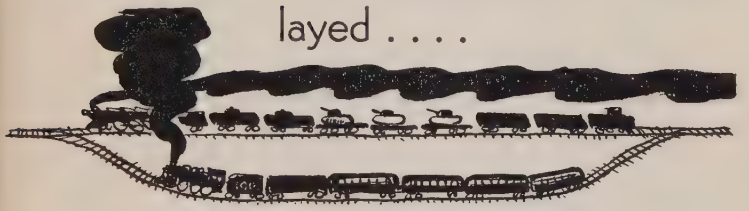

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The People Say....

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE *audience on "The Economic System—Today and Tomorrow," broadcast August 15, 1943.*

*

Need More than Private Enterprise

.... It seems to me that something more than private enterprise will be required to keep us on our feet when this war is won. The gigantic amount of money now being spent on destruction is really spent (isn't it?) and cannot be collected again, as in the usual course of economics, it would return in profits or goods.—*A listener from Stamford, Connecticut.*

*

Opportunity To Work

.... We hear a good deal of talk today about extended social security, unemployment insurance, old age and disability insurance, and certainly these are necessary; but I question the wisdom of making security our governmental aim. Security is something which a government cannot possibly provide to all people. Security is a goal toward which individuals strive, and it is the efforts of individual men and women to achieve security which made America strong and great. Yet there is something which a government can really provide its people which will lead to individual security. This is the opportunity to work and make one's way in the world. I prefer to call this freedom of individual enterprise and initiative. Only by encouraging this system, the free enterprise system, can a government render itself of economic service to its people..... —*A listener from Maplewood, New Jersey.*

*

Good Average Living

I thought that the English presented the stronger side. The American side sounded like it was still in the youthful stage, wanting adventure. Mr. Laski sounded mature and like one speaking from experience. I think that it is not a matter of making or keeping a standard of living for many but of making a good average living for all. I can't see that government restriction to a certain extent would take away initiative..... —*A listener from Columbia, Missouri.*

*

Restored Faith

Your broadcast of Sunday, August 15, was of particular interest, and I believe restored to many faith in the American doctrine of a free spirit through free enterprise..... —*A listener from Seattle, Washington.*

System Is Dead

. . . . After two world wars to bolster an economic system that has died, could intelligent people still believe that it can be made to live and breathe again? I doubt it. State capitalism is next in order in the economic evolution, to be followed by state socialism. . . . —*A listener from St. Louis, Missouri.*

*

Can It Be Trusted?

. . . . The only question in the mind of any eighth-grade schoolboy on this question of whether so-called "free enterprise" should be left entirely unhampered to do as it pleases on its promise to take up the slack of post-war unemployment is whether, on its past record, big business can be trusted to stand without hitching. . . . . —*A listener from Eveleth, Minnesota.*

*

Only Alternatives?

. . . . Must we assume that the post-war world will have no other choice than to accept either state socialism or a return to the chaotic competitive system that carried us into this war? Are we expected to accept, without question, the assurances of either left or right that the lessons of the past have been learned and that former admittedly objectionable policies and practices have been renounced? . . . . Surely, some day, we shall have the wisdom necessary to organize a cooperative society that is not based on force or regimentation.—*A listener from Hollywood, California.*

*

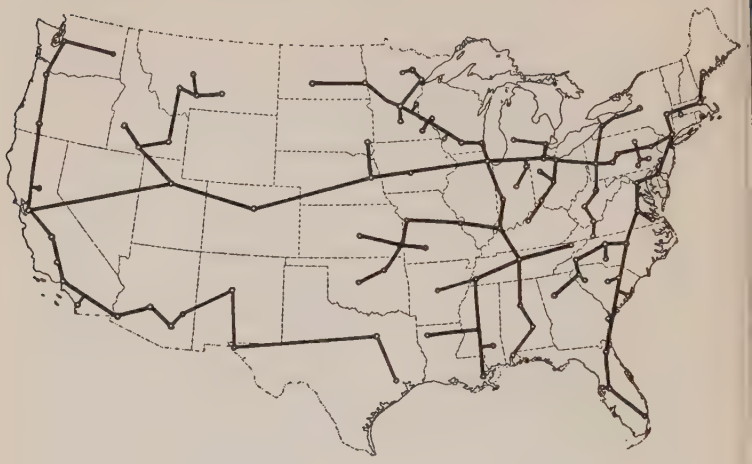
Lack of Public Responsibility

During wartime it has been proved possible to enlist men in the service of the society as a whole without any hope of pecuniary profit. Why should it not be possible to do the same thing in peacetime? . . . . The question of efficiency, opportunity, and willingness to work is certainly nothing which "business" has a priority on. Progress has been as much a product of the unselfish worker in the government service as of the profiteering businessman. . . . .

"Big business" wields an enormous power, without being held accountable to the people over whom it wields this power. Quite often this power has been abused and not at all exercised in the best interest of the society—to wit, the ruthless exploitation by the railroads in the last century and the lack of plain business sense by the utilities in this century in not understanding that they could also make a profit at a low price, as TVA has so abundantly demonstrated.

No one questions a legitimate profit; but lack of public responsibility, such as is now shown by the shipyards in wasting public money in cost-plus contracts, does not give one confidence in business. The "favorable atmosphere" for business is one it must create itself by acting always in the public interest. Those things are matters of cause and effect.—*A listener from Jacksonville, Florida.*

THE ROUND TABLE NETWORK



119 N.B.C. Stations Carry the Round Table

2:00 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	*Call Letters*	*Kilocycles*	*City*	*Call Letters*	*Kilocycles*
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Martinsville, Va.	WMVA	1450
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Bluefield, W.Va.	WHIS	1440	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Boston, Mass.	WBZ	1030	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charleston, W.Va.	WGKV	1490	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cincinnati, Ohio	WLW	700	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	850
Clarksburg, W.Va.	WBLK	1400	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Springfield, Mass.	WBZA	1030
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Syracuse, N.Y.	WSYR	570
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Greenwood, S.C.	WCRS	1450	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	740
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Williamsport, Pa.	WRAK	1400
Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240	York, Pa.	WORK	1350

1:00 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

City	*Call Letters*	*Kilocycles*	*City*	*Call Letters*	*Kilocycles*
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	Mobile, Ala.	WALA	1410
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Montgomery, Ala.	WSFA	1440
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
El Paso, Texas	KSTM	1380	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WOWO	1190	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Hibbing, Minn.	WMFG	1240	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Houston, Texas	KPRC	950	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
La Crosse, Wis.	WKBH	1410	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	1400
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920	Wichita, Kan.	KANS	1240

12:00 M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	770	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Safford, Ariz.	KGLU	1450
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240

11:00 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620			

STATIONS CARRYING ROUND TABLE BY TRANSCRIPTION

Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	930	Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1500
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Minneapolis, Minn.	WLB	770	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810

BY TRANSCRIPTION VIA SHORT WAVE

Anchorage, Alaska	KFQD	790	Juneau, Alaska	KINY	1450
Fairbanks, Alaska	KFAR	610	Ketchikan, Alaska	KTAN	930

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IV. The Meaning of the War

AUGUST 29, 1943

HERBERT BLUMER, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago

RICHARD P. McKEON, Dean of the Division of the Humanities, University of Chicago

LIN YUTANG, Author and Philosopher

SUGGESTED READINGS

HUTCHINS, ROBERT M., "Toward a Durable Society," *Fortune*, June, 1943.

MACLEISH, ARCHIBALD, "The Unimagined America," *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1943.

WALLACE, HENRY A., "World Philosophies and Results," *Vital Speeches*, April 1, 1943.

WRISTON, HENRY M., "Why Not Try Freedom?" *Harper's*, August, 1943.

YUTANG, LIN, "The Search for Principles," *Free World*, June, 1943.

[PRINTED IN U.S.A.]